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224 The dog was unknown in Pukapuka. The native rat (*Mus exulans*)
244 was caught with the rat trap (*vaka kiole*) when it became a pest in the talo beds but was never eaten. Rats were never hunted with weapons for sport.

Though many stories are told about cannibals, cannibalism was probably
266 not practiced on Pukapuka. The use of human bone was tapu (*ɣa*), pun-
784 ishable by the goddess Taua (p. 309).

Meals and Food Etiquette

264 No routine of set meals is followed. The nature and number of meals eaten by one household group on any one day depend entirely on the amount of food on hand and the program of work for the day:

> If the men have been fishing early in the morning, the family has a meal of fish and *ipŭpi* some time before 9 o'clock. If there has been no fishing and if there is no left-over supply of fish or talo, a regular meal is not eaten; each individual makes a fresh coconut or *uto* nut do. The Pukapukan feels no need for food before he starts work in the morning and may work until 10 or 11 o'clock without refreshment. A child going to school in the morning takes with him a drinking nut to eat as he walks along the road. A regular meal may not be eaten by a household for a whole day, sometimes even for the best part of two days. Before the second day has passed, fish is procured by some male member of the household and grilled for a formal meal, usually in the evening, not infrequently at 9 or 10 o'clock at night after the torch fishing. It was not unusual for us to be wakened in the middle of the night by a returning fisherman bringing us fish on the supposition that we would get up and eat it immediately. Our practice of eating at regular hours was always a matter of discussion and comment.

264 The words *kai, taumamaya, yamuyamu, lamulamu* apply to eating, whether
574 by an individual alone or by a group, whether of a single coconut or of
431 an elaborate meal. There is no Pukapukan word for guest or host, nor is there any custom of entertaining friends or relatives for an occasional meal in the household. Special indebtedness is repaid by sending food gifts to the home of the friend.

264 Whether the meal is taken inside the cook house or outside on the open
576 ground—as is usual for a meal on a fine evening—men, women, and children all sit on cocoanut-leaf (*takapau*) mats, with crossed legs tucked under them. They sit in rows opposite each other. The food platters (*laulau*) are set (*nukalavalava*) on *polapola* coconut mats in the middle. It is customary to rise and leave the group when satisfied (*yangia*). The food is taken from the center platters with the fingers in individual mouthfuls. Food etiquette is remarkable by its absence. There are no rules taught to the child on the correct way to eat food. There is no prescribed manner of chewing. Loud sucking, belching, gurgling, and loud smacking of the lips are all in good taste. The food may be packed into the mouth in any fashion. As it is divided into individual shares on the platters before being served, there is no opportunity for the quick eater to obtain more than his share of food.

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The flying-fish practice net (*tae penu*) used by young men to catch pandanus keys thrown at them in practice sport is of similar shape to the flying-fish net, but smaller.

It consists of a handle of *wetau* wood, 4 feet long and 1½ inches in diameter, a crossbar 8 inches long, ¾ inch in diameter, and two stout rods of pandanus wood, 3 feet long, which are fastened to handle and crossbar, the ends bent close together and tied without the intermediary of lighter rods (*matai*) used in the flying-fish net frame. The lashings of framework and attachment of net to frame are similar to those of the flying-fish net. The practice net is made of the two-ply twisted fiber from the aerial roots of *yulu* pandanus. The net is 13 inches wide at the mouth, 18 inches deep.

The large bird net (*wuata*, fig.45,*b*) differs in shape from the flying-fish net.

The net framework is attached to the handle in such a way that the distal end of the framework rises at an obtuse angle from the plane of the handle. The distal point of the frame is 10 inches higher than the plane of the handle. The framework when viewed sideways presents the shape of an enlarged spatula. When the bird catcher brings down the net upon a flying or roosting bird, the net is reversed so that the distal end of the frame is lower than the plane of the handle. A bird flying from the net is more likely to be caught by the downward projecting spatula-shaped net than it would if the net frame were in the same plane as the handle. The frame and handle are made of light wood so that the net may be easily used in the tree tops. The net itself is made of fine two-ply twisted sennit.

TRAPS AND SNARES

Because the fauna of a coral atoll is extremely simple, there are in Pukapuka only two types of bird snare and a form of the widely distributed western Polynesian rat trap.

The construction and operation of the rat trap (*vaka kiole*) are shown in figure 47. The trap is baited with mature coconut flesh (*ipiipi*) and set in a runway made by rats. The rat is removed by the owner of the trap, who resets the bait stick and spring mechanism.

The coconut-shell bird snare (*maenga kui*) is shown in figure 48,*a*. Another bird snare (*maenga tuli*), shown in figure 48,*b*, is set on the beach, weighted down with stones, and the birds driven through it.

Though not strictly traps or snares, wooden structures (*pa wonu*) in which turtles are kept may be described in this context.

Stakes of *puapua* or *pukama* wood, each about 5 feet long and 1 inch in diameter, are driven into the sea bottom a few yards from low water level of the beach. The stakes are arranged about 1 inch apart to form a rectangular enclosure 3 feet square, and 4 feet high. The stakes are bound together at top and bottom with horizontal poles and a continuous lashing which makes transverse turns round vertical and horizontal members. Baby turtles, caught as they emerge from their shells, are placed in these enclosures. They are fed regularly on squid and octopus until they are mature enough to be killed for a special food division. The size of enclosures observed varied according to the number of turtles placed within. An enclosure of the above size housed two turtles with shells about 12 inches long. Bigger structures contained five or more small

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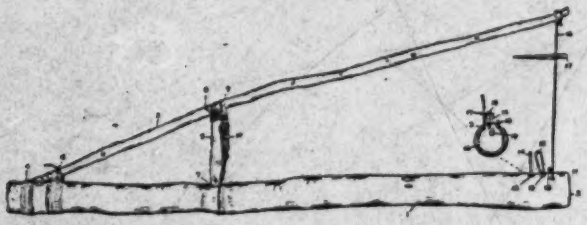
225/231 turtles. There are about three of these enclosures in each village. When the people of Ngake go to Motu Ko for the copra-making season, they take with them their small turtles and put them in temporary enclosures erected on the lagoon frontage of the copra settlements.



227/284 FIGURE 47.—Rat trap (*vaka kiole*) (C8171): trap (1) 2 feet 7½ inches long and 2½ inches in diameter at larger end, made of a section of pandanus wood, hollowed out at one end (2) into a hole 2 inches in diameter and 6 inches deep; a springy piece of *ngangie* wood (3) 2 feet 8 inches long and ½ inch in diameter tied to pandanus wood at one end (4) and supported by upright (5) 4½ inches high and ¾ inch in diameter; lashing of spring to trap (4) consists of 7 turns of two-ply twisted sennit around end of spring and trap; free end of sennit carried 1 inch up spring to make eight figure-of-eight turns (6) around spring and trap; finishing end buried, but not cut off flush with previous turns; upright (5) rests at one end in a natural depression (7) on upper surface of trap; upper end lashed to spring with common alternate curves pattern lashing (8); suspensory brace (9) consists of 4 turns of two-ply twisted sennit around spring and trap, transverse turns being seized with 23 transverse turns (10) finished off with half hitches; on either side of middle line at open end of trap, holes large enough to allow run of two-ply twisted sennit are bored through roof of trap just inside entrance (11); a little farther in, two holes (12, 13) are bored in median line; straight stick (14) pushed down through innermost hole (12) to support bait (19); loop of sennit (15) knotted inside trap so that it projects above trap to height of bait stick; length of sennit (16) knotted around free end of spring; after testing tension, a light stick (17) is fastened by clove hitches to sennit so that it passes through noose (15) and rests its pointed end on top of bait stick (14); end of sennit (16) pushed through hole (11), passed around inner circumference of trap hole, and pushed out through another hole where it knots (18); cross section shows sennit (16) passing around inner circumference of trap (2), knotted at 18, bait stick (14) baited (19), and light stick (17) passing through loop (15) and resting on top of bait stick (14); trap set by pulling down spring and passing stick (17), attached to sennit, through loop (15) and resting its point on upper end of bait stick (14) (see cross section). In this position, as long as upper end of bait stick remains immovable spring stick cannot fly back; sennit loop within trap spreads out so that a rat entering trap must step over loop to nibble at bait which is fastened to pointed end of bait stick before trap is set. Rat nibbling bait moves bait stick which releases light stick, spring flies up and catches rat against roof of tube by tightened loop. In use, trap is propped in position by stones and sand packed around and alongside it.